RRR

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Why the Pro-Nafta Hysteria?

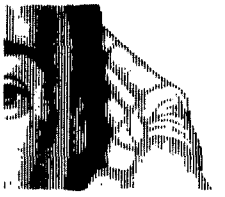
by Murray N. Rothbard

I'm puzzled. I'd like to know why so many free-marketeers, so many free-market thinktanks and pundits, are not simply pro-Nafta, but are fervently, frantically, almost hysterically pro-Nafta. Look, I can understand, though not agree with, mild approval. An old libertarian friend of mine, for example, told me that he was mildly pro-Nafta but not really interested in the entire topic. That seems sensible. So why the furor, the passion, the enormous resources poured into praising Nafta and reviling its critics? Why is there a highly active free-market Nafta Network, when no one has ever bothered forming a Repeal-the-Income Tax Network, or an Abolish-the-Fed Network? And if we want to confine passion to more directly political issues, why was there no Lower-Taxes Network, or Stop-the-Clinton-Budget Network? Why is the entire pack: the Cato crowd, the rest of the Kochtopus or Koch Machine, the majority at Heritage, the Tony Snows and the Steve Chapmans, why are they going all out, playing hardball, in their frenzy to get this thing passed? Why are these gentry acting *as if their lives depended* on the passage of Nafta? Could it be because if not their lives, at least their fortunes (though scarcely their sacred honor), *do in fact* depend on it?

Why the furor, the passion, the enormous resources poured into praising Nafta?

The twists and turns of this crowd have been truly a sight to see. First, they confidently strode forth to represent the "free trade" cause, denouncing their opponents as leftists or ignorant protectionists. But then, when hardcore free marketeers and free traders such as people at *RRR*, the Mises Institute, and the Competitive Enterprise Institute

(Cont. page 2, col. 3)



THE EAR

by Sarah Barton

The Big Four political causes now dear to Left-libertarians are: are: (1) anti-discrimination laws on behalf of "civil rights"; (2) anti-discrimination laws on behalf of "gay rights"; (3) Nafta; and (4) the school voucher scheme. All four have important features in common: they are key expansions of the welfare state; they expand government regulations and invade property rights; and they couch their statist and egalitarian policies in the rhetoric of "freedom" and "rights," thus providing a libertarian cover for expansions of State power.

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(THE EAR cont. from pg. 1)

To what circle of Hell will these people be consigned?

* * * * *

Marshall Fritz, founder of the Advocates for Self-Government and booming hail-fellow-well met, was once one of the most beloved figures of the libertarian movement. And yet Marshall, who left the Advocates to found a private school and school network in his home town of Fresno, CA, is no longer mentioned in libertarian circles or publications. What happened? Is Marshall's sudden loss of lovability connected with the fact that he has stepped on one of the sore toes of libertarian culture? He strongly opposes the School Voucher scheme, because he sees that the vouchers would extend the state controls of the public school system to the private schools and wreck them as well. But Left-libertarians love the voucher scheme, and won't tolerate any dissent, even though, and especially because, it is dissent based on libertarian principle.

Attaboy, Marshall!

* * * * *

This year's collection of essays by Bill Buckley is subtitled: "Reflections of a Libertarian Journalist." Buckley now calling himself "libertarian" instead of "conservative"? Uh oh, there goes the neighborhood!

* * * * *

How did Bill and Hillary meet? According to Lyn Nofziger, "they were both dating the same girl." According to a friend of mine, "they were both dating the same guy." But, hey, both stories could be true.

* * * * *

Left-libertarian Gerry O'Driscoll of the Dallas Federal Reserve Bank now devotes his inflation-funded time to promoting Nafta. He even lobbied fellow members of the Mt. Pelerin Society. Aren't there rules against the central bank doing this sort of thing? Anyway, Gerr has given birth to a new slogan: "If you like the Fed, you'll *love* Nafta."

Gerry O'Driscoll has given birth to a new slogan: "If you like the Fed, you'll *love* Nafta."

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A man phoned Rush Limbaugh to denounce Nafta, and the Limb said, "You're my first rational anti-Nafta caller. Where do you get your information?" "From Murray Rothbard," said the caller.

* * * * *

Libertarian Republican Eric Rittberg has deviated only once from an isolationist foreign policy: when he supported the Gulf War. He had to support Israel, he said. ■

(PRO-NAFTA cont. from page 1)

weighed in to attack Nafta as a managed trade and international statist scam in "free-trade" clothing, the pro-Nafta gang wheeled around to denounce *us* as free-trade "purists," or, as Tony Snow called it in all his tom-fool ignorance, "the Adam Smith objection." But even if this crowd has no shame, surely their sudden change of front must be causing them some tactical embarrassment. For how can they pose as the champions of free trade while *at the same time* denouncing genuine free-traders as "purists"?

The "free traders" for Nafta confront their biggest problem when we point out that, under Nafta, super-governmental commissions, unaccountable to any taxpayers, will be able to enforce and "upwardly harmonize" ever greater environmental and labor regulation standards against the wishes of the citizens of each country. The reply of the pro-Nafta people is that these are scare tactics, that these enforcement provisions are really petty and minor—nothing to worry about. Well, let's consider the crucial enforcement provisions that Nafta and its side agreements hand over to these supra-national commissions. Tony Snow and Steve Chapman assure us that these provisions are petty and meaningless. But on the other hand, Kathleen Rogers, counsel to the savvy environmentalist Audubon Society, supports Nafta precisely because of these enforcement provisions. Most important, Clinton's own Trade Czar, Mickey Kantor, assures one and all that under Nafta,

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"no country in the agreement can lower its environmental standards—ever," and he applies that assurances of all-out enforcement to labor regulations (e.g. labor laws, workplace standards, minimum wages) as well.

So, if there's a difference of opinion on the strength of enforcement between Snow and Chapman on the one hand, and Mickey Kantor of the Clinton Administration on the other, whose interpretation *do you think will win out*?

There is only one sensible interpretation of these "free-marketeers": that they are serving as a rather feeble figleaf for the naked seizure of power by international statism. To return to the $64 question: why are they investing so much passion in this effort?

Here is a possible clue to this puzzle. Take this seeming anomaly. One the one hand, in Annex 602.3 to Nafta, the allegedly "free market" Salinas government of Mexico "reserves to itself," in no uncertain terms, all possible provision of and investment in every aspect of the exploration, production, or refining of crude oil and natural gas. And yet, despite that grim fact, the heads of both the Natural Gas Supply Association and the American Gas Association, express their great enthusiasm for Nafta. As President Michael Baly of the American Gas Association puts it: "The AGA supports Nafta because it would benefit natural gas energy, equipment, technology, and services trade with Mexico and Canada."

Oh? How can this be, if the Mexican government insists on socializing all aspects of oil and natural gas? Methinks we can smell a rat. It is not generally known that the most enthusiastic advocates of socialized energy production in the case of electricity, in the 1930s—of Boulder Dam, TVA, etc.—were the private electric utility companies. For the government built the dams, provided the electricity at cheap rates subsidized by the hapless taxpayers, *and then* resold that electricity to the private utility companies, who benefited from government-subsidized primary electricity. The private energy middlemen reaped the profits.

There is a vital lesson here: much of Big Government, much of the welfare-interventionist State, is pushed by private businesses in order to force the taxpayers to subsidize their own costs. (Just as in the even more flagrant case of military industries, the government provides contracts at whatever cost plus a guaranteed profit.) In short, business groups don't mind socialism at all when the government is *socializing their cost*.

So may it not be true that American natural gas companies expect to benefit by purchasing gas, whose cheap production will be subsidized by the unfortunate Mexican taxpayer? And doesn't this provide a lesson about our own "free-market" institutes and pundits, many of whom are subsidized heavily, past, present or hopefully in the future, by Wichita, Kansas, oil billionaires Charles and David Koch, whose mammoth privately held Koch Industries concentrates on the transportation of oil and natural gas? Query: Does Koch Industries—which in November 1992 purchased 9,271 miles of natural gas pipelines to Mexico for $1.1 billion—expect to benefit heavily from Nafta? And do such expectations account for the *passion*, for the fervor, of those persons and institutions who form part, in reality or in hope, of the giant Koch Machine?

As for those free-marketeers not in the Koch network, how much of the massive Mexican government lobbying in Washington is funneling moolah into these institutions? Let us not forget that part of "free-market" Nafta involves an estimated $20 billion of foreign aid which the conned U.S. taxpayers will be pouring into the coffers of the Mexican government. How much Mexican lobbying, and how many of the possible bribes, are a down payment on this promised boodle?

If we really had a press and a media responsive to the American people and not to the malignant power elite, these questions would be investigated, and fast. In the meanwhile, we should follow our noses, and apply to the "free market" and "free trade" protestations of these worthies a liberal dose of salt. How many times will we be fooled until we realize that it is concrete policies, not cheap and cloudy rhetoric, that counts? ■

The Bringing Down of Liz Holtzman

by M.N.R.

Joy oh joy! Hosanna! It would be difficult to pick, out of an

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all-too-jammed field, the most repellent politician in American life, but surely Elizabeth Holtzman would run anyone a very close race for that honor. Tough, dour, butch, pencil-thin, and ultra-left, Liz Holtzman has been plaguing New Yorkers, and Americans in general, for many years. She has always played the scene as a brutal avenging angel—or devil. In the Watergate affair, Holtzman, as a member of the House Judiciary Committee from Brooklyn, was prominent on TV as the stern avenger, bringing and enforcing justice, helping to bring down the Nixon Administration. And then, in her Congressional stint, in the 1970s, she conceived and introduced the bill that has been tormenting the country ever since: creating the Office of Special Investigations as a virtually independent fiefdom in the Department of Justice, where Alan Ryan, Neil Sher, the Anti-Defamation League and their minions can drag elderly Eastern European immigrants out of their beds and get them deported and often executed abroad for allegedly "Nazi" activities engaged in half a century ago. John Demjanjuk is only one of the innocent victims of Holtzmanesque "justice."

But now, hallelujah! Justice has at last triumphed; the stars are once again in their courses; the avenger has been on the receiving end of vengeance and how does she like it? For the famed Bringer Down has herself been Brought Down and with what a plop! Liz Holtzman has been cast into total ignominy. For all political purposes, she is finished, *kaput*, stone cold dead in the market. For she lost the September 28 runoff Democratic primary for renomination (and eventual reelection) as Comptroller of the City of New York to a previously unknown opponent by no less than two-to-one, 67 to 33 percent. Wow!

At the beginning of this year's New York City political campaign, Liz Holtzman looked to be a shoo-in for renomination and reelection. She has been around a long time, had big name recognition, and was in solid with feminist, left-Jewish, and black voters.

But in the late spring and early summer, as the weather got warmer, and homeowners began to settle in their summer or weekend homes at Fire Island, a small but politically powerful bevy of homeowners in the community of Saltaire began to get together and plot and scheme for the downfall of Elizabeth Holtzman. For non-New Yorkers, Fire Island is a long and narrow strip of sand and beach south of the Long Island mainland. Contrary to myth, it is not solely a summer haven for homosexuals (as is the Fire Island community of Cherry Grove, for example.) A unique feature of Fire Island is that, by design, there are no roads and automobiles allowed on the island. Each community is reached by separate ferries from the mainland. The result is very little interrelationship among the various communities, but lots of togetherness *within* each village. Saltaire is a community of middle-class politicians and assorted power-brokers from the borough of Queens, a borough whose political complexion is moderate-to-conservative Democratic.

A particular leading-light in Saltaire is former Congresswoman Geraldine Ferraro, and the charming and likable Ferraro was very, very ticked off. Mad as Hell. And the object of Geraldine's total wrath was none other than La Holtzman. It all stemmed from the 1992 race for the U.S. Senate. Incumbent Republican Senator Alfonse D'Amato was vulnerable, he had "ethics" problems stemming from the activities of his beloved brother Armand (convicted after the election). It looked like a sure Democrat seat in a Democratic year, and several politicos vied for the right to oppose D'Amato in the Democrat primary. A supposed shoo-in was Geraldine Ferraro, making her comeback after declining from her peak as Vice-Presidential candidate in the ill-fated Mondale campaign of 1984. Her major opponent was the nerdy, colorless State Attorney-General Robert Abrams, who felt that it was his turn for high office. Also running were City Comptroller Liz Holtzman, splitting the feminist vote to the tune of a lot of wailing and breast-beating from the Sisterhood, and clownish black agitator "the Reverend" Al Sharpton, who seemed to be in the race just to get some credibility for future scams.

It was late in the primary season in 1992, and Ferraro had a comfortable lead in the polls. While the hard-core feminists such as Bella Abzug preferred Hotlzman, Ferraro's friendliness and—yes, let's say it, *femininity*—

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charmed far more voters. Ferraro seemed to have it in the bag. And then, in a last-minute blitz, La Holtzman put on her Darth Vader uniform and struck. Borrowing over $400,000 from her buddies at the Fleet Bank, Holtzman flooded the airwaves with bitter negative spots against Ferraro—dredging up the old whispered rumors about "Mafia" and "Mafia pornographers" that had virtually ended Ferraro's Congressional career. The Mafia stuff had emerged during the spotlight of the Presidential campaign, when Ferraro's husband John Zaccarro, a commercial real-estate tycoon in New York, was revealed to have alleged Mafiosos and pornographers among his tenants.

So Gerry Ferraro was not allowed to have her comeback. Defeat was snatched from the jaws of victory, as Holtzman's savage attacks reopened old wounds, and Bob Abrams, who had mildly seconded the attacks on Ferraro, squeezed into victory. But oddly enough, Holtzman herself only succeeded in self-destructing. Only hardcore feminists were convinced by Holtzman's line that if *men* can be allowed to be tough and negative, why can't a woman? Everyone else was, well, repelled, and at the election Holtzman plummeted to single digits in percentage of votes, falling even below the clown Reverend Sharpton.

Ferraro was so upset that she refused to endorse Abrams after his primary victory. After lengthy negotiations between the two camps, Ferraro made a grudging TV spot endorsing Abrams, but as one wag put it, it had all the sincerity of Saddam's Western hostages praising their captor. D'Amato's brilliantly organized campaign led enough indignant Italo-Americans to shift to his camp and narrowly beat out Abrams.

In a last-minute blitz, La Holtzman put on her Darth Vader uniform and struck.

After the election, Ferraro, of course, still burned for revenge against her tormentor. Hence, the plotting at Saltaire. The Saltaire group came up with a long shot to oppose Liz Holtzman's presumed breeze of a re-election campaign: they decided to put up against her the totally unknown product of the Queens Democrat machine, State Assemblyman Alan Hevesi.

The Saltarians started with a huge problem: no one in New York politics had ever heard of Hevesi, including his own constituents, who are scarcely alive to their local Assemblyman. How could this unknown quantity topple the mighty Holtzman? Who even knew Hevesi's ethnic background, always a crucial factor in New York politics: Was he Italian, or Hispanic, or what?

The first vital step: the Saltarians put the Hevesi campaign in the hands of one of the great political managers of our epoch: Hank Morris, who had run a losing Hevesi campaign four years ago against Holtzman in the primary, and who went on from there to manage one of the best political campaigns of our day: Diane Feinstein's for U.S. Senate in California.

Since no one had ever heard of Hevesi, Morris began the campaign by making use of that very fact: by turning a liability into a near-asset. The TV spots featured: "Alan Who?" "Hevesi Who?" The next step was to show countless rounds of Hevesi greeting the masses. Hevesi turned out to be a tall, good-looking and very amiable middle-aged gentleman, and by showing an affable Hevesi, the point was implicitly but effectively made in pointing up the contrast to La Holtzman, whose rare smile makes her look like a ghostly and ghastly wraith. Hevesi's ethnic background was cleared up by letting it be known that his grandfather had been one of the most distinguished rabbis in Hungary. The Jewish vote! And moderate Jews who were fed up with the leftist and pro-black Holtzman now knew they had somewhere to turn. Ferraro's visible and ardent support for Hevesi of course worked the Italian and moderate feminist voters.

The next Hank Morris line was a brilliant masterstroke. Everyone knew that Hotlzman really wanted to be Senator,

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and was using the Comptrollership as a base for her next move; by the summer, Herman Badillo, whose Democratic primary race for Mayor had flopped totally, had decided to run instead for Comptroller on Democrat, Liberal, and Republican tickets [this cross-filing can be done in New York], and he became part of the Guiliani-for-Mayor ticket. Badillo was bound to wrap up the Puerto Rican vote, which otherwise could have gone either way. So Hank Morris now came up with this great line: "Hevesi—the only candidate who *wants to be Comptroller*!" Not Mayor, not Senator, but Comptroller, the spot for which all these people were vieing.

The race was tightening, and now the final clinching blow was suddenly hammered home. It became known that the city's Department of Investigation was investigating the curious circumstances of La Holtzman, Ms. Integrity, and her $450,000 loan from Fleet Bank. Not only was this loan made on security of returns from a future Holtzman fund-raiser, a benefit that raised less than half the sum pledged and left Holtzman in a continuing financial hole. Even more intriguing was the fact that a few months after the election, Fleet Securities, a corporation closely connected with Fleet Bank, received a lucrative municipal bond contract from Hotlzman's Comptroller's office. Aha! Hanky-panky! Payoff?! The news of the inquiry hit the press in the last few weeks before the primary, and the report itself was finished shortly before the September primary. Not only that; it became known that the Department of Investigation report was highly critical of Ms. Integrity, La Holtzman. Now a bizarre situation exists in New York: Department of Investigation reports on someone cannot be made public unless the subject of the inquiry consents; if he or she withholds consent, the inquiry has to spend several months being sifted by the Conflict-of-Interest Bureau.

Hevesi and Badillo naturally demanded that Holtzman release the report; surely the people have the right to know about

Rating Senate Republicans

On Sept. 14, Senator Jesse Helms (R.,N.C.) moved to eliminate all $171 million in federal funding for the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA), which would in effect have abolished NEA. This amendment cut to the heart of the issue. Clearly, the federal government should not be funding art that is offensive to the taxpayers. But more importantly, why should the federal government subsidize the arts *at all*? Here, on a clear-cut matter of libertarian and limited-government principle, the Republicans acted in a shocking, but unfortunately not surprising, manner: they threw over principle entirely. The Senate as a whole defeated the Helms amendment by the overwhelming vote of 15 to 83. The Republican vote was not much better: the Republicans voting against the Helms move to abolish NEA by a vote of 11 to 32. The 11 Republican hereos receive a plus, the 32 sellouts a minus, and the one non-voter a zero. (The four anti-NEA Democrats deserve an honorable mention: Exon, Hollings, Nunn, and Shelby.)

Alaska		**Maine**		**Pennsylvania**	
Murkowski	—	Cohen	—	Specter	—
Stevens	—				
		Minnesota		**Rhode Island**	
Arizona		Durenberger	—	Chafee	—
McCain	+				
		Mississippi		**South Carolina**	
Colorado		Lott	—	Thurmond	—
Brown	+	Cochran	—		
				South Dakota	
Delaware		**Missouri**		Pressler	—
Roth	—	Bond	—		
		Danforth	—	**Texas**	
Florida				Hutchinson	—
Mack	+	**Montana**		Gramm	0
		Burns	—		
Georgia				**Utah**	
Coverdell	+	**New Hampshire**		Bennett	—
		Gregg	—	Hatch	—
Idaho		Smith	+		
Kempthorne	—			**Vermont**	
Craig	—	**New Mexico**		Jeffords	—
		Domenici	—		
Indiana				**Virginia**	
Coats	+	**New York**		Warner	—
Lugar	—	D'Amato	—		
				Washington	
Iowa		**North Carolina**		Gorton	—
Grassley	—	Faircloth	+		
		Helms	+	**Wyoming**	
Kansas				Wallop	+
Dole	—	**Oklahoma**		Simpson	—
Kassebaum	—	Nickles	+		
Kentucky		**Oregon**			
McConnell	+	Packwood	—		
		Hatfield	—		

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their servant! But astonishingly, at the last minute before the primary, La Holtzman refused—to the bitter denunciation of the press. Her flimsy claim was that the voting public wouldn't have time to sift through the report before voting. An egregious blunder, since the public doesn't sift anyway, and of course Holtzman's rivals and the media made the most of her *gaffe*.

As a result, in the September primary, a walkaway for Holtzman was transmuted into a very tight three-way race. Each of the three rivals got approximately one-third of the vote, with Hevesi coming in a narrow first, and Holtzman edging out Badillo for runner-up spot, the top two then being plunged into a runoff two weeks later, in late September. Where would the Badillo vote go? It was likely to go more to Hevesi, since those who liked the incumbent Holtzman would probably vote for her from the beginning. One point was noted: Holtzman depended on the black vote, and blacks don't vote in primaries, especially in a runoff when neither Mayor Dinkins nor any other black would be running.

As soon as the election was over, Holtzman surrendered on the report, and released it, now maintaining that the public would have a full two weeks to do the sifting. In the event, they didn't need two weeks: the Investigation report was damning, demonstrating Holtzman's lies about not knowing that the two Fleets were involved; the report actually accused La Holtzman of "gross negligence" in office. But if she was a tough and nasty, knuckle-wielding leftist, but was *not* Ms. Integrity but a quasi-crook like all the rest and caught with her hand in the cookie jar to boot, why in the world vote for her?

And so in the two weeks remaining until the runoff, a massive shift took place: Hevesi was looking better and better: Mr. Affability, Mr. Wants-to-be Comptroller; whereas La Holtzman suddenly began to look like someone who had no virtues to offset her glaring and irritating vices. And so, on September 28, Hevesi swamped Holtzman two-to-one. No one in New York is going to ask "Alan Who?" any more. If anything, it will soon be "Liz Who?" Was the timing of the Investigation Department report a mere coincidence, or was it all brilliantly plotted by Hank Morris and the gang? Who knows, but you can bet your bottom dollar on this: Hank Morris will be able to write his own ticket in the next election campaign. ■

All the noisy champions of "global democracy" rushed to endorse Boris Yeltsin's despotic coup.

Heil Yeltsin?

by M.N.R.

The stench of hypocrisy was everywhere as all the noisy champions of "global democracy" rushed to endorse Boris Yeltsin's despotic coup.

"Well, yes, it was in a legal sense 'unconstitutional' but it was a Commie constitution." No it wasn't. The constitution and Parliamentary elections were post-Commie.

"Sometimes to achieve democracy in the long run, you have to use undemocratic methods." Yeah, right. Where have we heard *that* one before? We found out quickly enough, as one pundit actually said it, in an unconscious or even conscious echo of the worst Stalinist bilge of the 1930's: "Sometimes in order to make an omelette you have to break a few eggs." Well, it all depends on whether you're the omelette or the egg. My old friend Baldy Harper used to come back with a counter-agricultural metaphor of his own; "You *don't* break any eggs if you want any chickens."

"But it's OK; Yeltsin's opponents are "ex"-Commies, the "ex" pronounced with the same sneer that Walter Winchell used to use in early Cold War days in talking about "ex"-Commies or "ex"-Trotskyites. But what do you people think the sainted *Boris Yeltsin* is? And who says that *his* "ex-ness" is any more genuine than that of his Parliamentary opponents?

One liberal-babe TV pundit, in her high-pitched whine, was

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saying: "But Yeltsin *had* to do it, he had to end the. . . *paralysis* in government." I swear she almost said *gridlock*. Can't we envision a future, or maybe not-so-future, Bill Clinton dissolving Congress or putting barbed wire around it, "to end the gridlock" in Washington? "Well, he did what he had to do." Did he indeed? So tell me, what do *we* have to do to send our Menshevik ruling elites, our bureaucrats and media pundits, to some remote Siberia where we don't have to hear from them or about them for several decades? Where do I sign up?

It's remarkable how virtually the same events as two years ago were now played out as farce rather than heroism. When Yeltsin and *his* people barricaded themselves in Parliament and the people demonstrated in defiance of the "coup-plotters," the media and the opinion of the whole world were with them, girding themselves against executive coercion. But now, when Parliament barricaded themselves and the people demonstrated against "coup-plotter" Yeltsin, the media tone—including Russian state-owned television—was totally different. Instead of heroes, Rutzkoi, Khasbulatov and the rest—themselves Yeltsinites two years ago—were now sneered at and laughed at as pitiful clowns, with the Russian masses allegedly totally behind the new dictator. Even when the Yeltsinite barbed wire went up, no one complained. "The West"—headed of course by President Clinton—rushed to proclaim support, and of course, another few billions in aide for the beloved Yeltsin.

So now we know what this foggy term "democracy" is all about. You're a "democrat" if you vote and act the way we want you to, and tell you to. You're "anti-democratic" if you vote or act the "wrong" way and defy our orders. That's about the size of it.

"But Yeltsin *had* to do it, he had to end the... *paralysis* in government." I swear she almost said *gridlock*.

But isn't Boris Yeltsin a fan of the free-market, and his opponents resisters of free-market reform, and therefore don't you have to break some eggs, and do what you have to do? It's interesting that these days, every swindler and ideological racketeer calls himself a champion of "the free market." Where can we find ourselves a term that no one will filch? Look, Yeltsin is a power-hungry thug and an "ex"-Commie who was simply shrewder than his old rival Gorby. He saw faster than Gorby that the Communist system was falling apart, and that the winners—and more particularly, the guys with the money—were the scions of Western Keynesian social democracy, that is the U.S.-Western European Establishment.

For Yeltsin it's strictly Market, Schmarket. His lovability stems not from any understanding or devotion to the free market, but from willingness to take orders from the Western Establishment, for example, from the Keynesian Harvard economist Jeffrey Sachs, from the IMF and the World Bank and other instruments of Rockefeller domination, e.g. he is willing to impose a Central Bank, monetary inflation, and a Russian version of the IRS. Some free marketeer! As long as he displays willingness to continue to obey orders in return for Western do-re-mi he will continue to be the object of adoration and apologetics from liberal/neocon punditry. But let Yeltsin turn on his masters, and he will suddenly turn out to be a terrible dictator, and he will go the way of poor old Noriega, whose fate is a lesson for foreign rulers who might be tempted to kick over the U.S.-UN traces.

I'm not saying, of course, that the Rutzkoi forces are paragons of libertarian virtue. On the contrary, the only hope for Russia is the decomposition of the swollen Russian imperium, its deconstruction into autonomous regional and ethnic republics. And here only Yeltsin's defeat will speed such a result along, for only Yeltsin in this entire crew seems to have the willingness and the capacity to become another centralizing, despotic Czar.

As for the United States, why O why can't we get out of the "Fight or Aid" syndrome, the

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crazy notion that our only relation to other countries in the world can either be to prepare to fight them, spending billions on missiles and arms, or to spend billions to aid them, prop them up, speed their "development," etc. (Sometimes, of course, we do both at the same time, as in Somalia.) Can't we simply butt out? Can't we pursue that wonderful program that Edmund Burke celebrated in the policy toward the American colonies of the brilliant English politician Robert Walpole: "salutary neglect"? "Salutary neglect"—what a wonderful concept! and how remote from the minds and hearts of twentieth-century Americans! When will we learn that we don't *have* to take sides in every damned conflict on the face of the globe, that we don't *have* to pick rulers of every country? *We really don't.* ■

Defeat "Choice"

by Llewellyn H. Rockwell, Jr.

"School choice" promoters—that is, people who oppose school districts and want tax subsidies for private schools—ask us to believe that their only opposition is the National Education Association. Yet all over the country, conservatives are organizing to prevent their private schools from being statized, which is exactly where vouchers will lead.

In California, the anti-voucher movement has gained a new set of converts in the suburbs. "When Kemp and Bennett stump for Proposition 174," Damon Darlin explains in *Forbes* (10/25/93), "they are finding many deaf ears among voters who stood four-square with Ronald Reagan and Richard Nixon." Why is that? "Those with good schools want to preserve the status quo—and suburbanites are the ones who tend to turn out for ballot initiatives. Inner-city minorities tend to stay home."

Why do suburbanites think school choice will harm their schools? The secret is in a clause (174,a,6) that voucher advocates haven't exactly trumpeted. It allows students to attend any school to which buses can take them, without regard to district lines.

What would happen if school-district lines are erased? School-districts are correlated to home prices. Mix up the districts and the values of homes would take a roller coaster ride.

Property values aren't all that's at stake, of course. There is also the quality of the schools. And suburbanites know that busing innercity kids doesn't change their behavior, which often includes an opposition to learning and a propensity to drugs and gangs.

Erasing lines of demarcation is called "interdistrict school choice," but it's no different from what the paleo-left has always wanted. In the sixties, liberals didn't dare propose the outright elimination of district lines; they simply bused kids around to stir up the demographic pot. Leave it to the neocons to try to accomplish liberal goals through the "market."

Speaking of liberal goals, remember federal aid to education? The neocons are jumping on that train as well, but they want aid for private schools as well. Writing in the *Washington Times* (10/5/93), American Enterprise Institute scholar Robert Hahn comes out for a "$10 billion National Choice Initiative" that would give federal vouchers of $1,000 per child. It would tax the people, then give them their own money back with strings attached, so as to force private schools to obey the Department of Education.

Insight magazine recently asked Bill Bennett: what's wrong with cutting taxes as a way of giving parents the money to spend on school tuition? His answer: we couldn't be sure people would spend their money on education. So much for "choice."

What are the problems with public schools? Violence, drugs, falling test scores, and low graduation rates—all of which has been true for at least thirty years. It's not enough to condemn public schools. We have to understand why they've failed, in part so we can avoid repeating the same errors if vouchered schools are established.

Here are some theories as to why public schools have failed:

First, public funding makes public schools immune from the market and its discipline, so no one worries about trying to serve customers; public funding also makes efficient cost accounting impossible.

Yet the voucher system would fail on the same terms. Vouchers

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consist of public money, funds that become an entitlement so long as the seats in the classroom are filled. In comparison with their own money, parents would have far less incentive to spend it wisely because it is not theirs. They have no alternative use of the funds other than education. And the schools getting the money would be less careful as well, because of altered customer incentives and the need to be more responsive to the bureaucracy.

Second, public schools are centrally controlled, so local schools and communities have little authority. Public schools worked better before centralization, first at the state level and later at the federal. But the proponents of vouchers are doing everything possible to centralize private schools.

Third, public schools were undermined by coerced demographic upheavals, like busing and forced integration. If the goal is learning (as versus political indoctrination), the more homogeneous the background, behavior, and intelligence of the children in the classroom, the better. Certainly, no high-achieving child is better off in a room of misfits.

Yet vouchers are as egalitarian as present public schools, forbidding any admissions policies which appear "discriminatory" and setting up strict guidelines for admissions and discipline.

Fourth, public schools were harmed by secularization. The elimination of traditional religion opened up the way for condoms and Mother Earth.

Voucher programs differ in their treatment of religion, but the Supreme Court has been clear: education is a public good, and when receiving public money, schools cannot promote sectarian purposes. For now, most voucher initiatives allow private schools to keep their religious identity. Will this hold up in court? It didn't for colleges getting public money.

Under vouchers, private schools would be subject to all the problems now plaguing the public schools. Voucher academies would be publicly funded, centrally controlled, unable to discriminate, and eventually secular. If private schools are good now, and they are, why saddle them with all the problems the public schools have? Why not protect them from corruption?

Voucher lawyers claim they can write initiative language that protects private schools from regulation. But neocon voucher advocate Chester Finn cleared this up in 1982: "Some to be sure, like to think they can have it both ways. But most acknowledge the general applicability of the old adage that he who pays the piper calls the tune, and are more or less resigned to amalgamating or choosing between assistance and autonomy."

But schools don't have to accept vouchers, right? Sure, then they'll be outcompeted by those that do, and will have to shut down. It's unfair competition to force unsubsidized schools to compete with those on the dole.

Thank goodness the voters are catching on to the real meaning of vouchers: that they will erase public school boundaries and control private schools. What middle-class parent or taxpayer could be for that? ■

Waco, Weaver, and Centralization

by L.H.R., Jr.

The Treasury Department's Waco report shows what happens when the fox is charged with investigating the chicken coop. Instead of early retirements and fat pensions, there should be indictments for one of the most egregious state actions in American history.

Amidst all the talk of whether David Koresh knew about the raid, and whether the agents knew he knew, the real questions have yet to be answered. The issue is not, as the report would have us believe, that the assault could have been even sneakier.

The attack on the Branch Davidians resulted in horrifying deaths for 86 men, women, and children. If the agents had not sacked the farm house, these people would still be living peacefully in their community, just as they were before the blitzkrieg.

In preparing the report, the Treasury conducted lots of interviews and wrote many analyses, the bulk of which the public will apparently not be allowed to examine. There is much that people would like to know.

For example, was the affidavit used to justify the attack

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a phony? As reported in the *Washington Times*, the sworn document quotes Koresh as threatening a battle that would make the Los Angeles riots "pale in comparison." But Koresh was interviewed, according to the affidavit, *three weeks* before the riots occurred.

Why did the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms harass Koresh to begin with? Were BATF agents killed by friendly fire? Why didn't the BATF nab Koresh on one of his daily jogs? Did the agency even have probable cause to arrest him? Why did agents pump the home full of CS gas, which is outlawed in warfare but apparently ok to use on American children?

Was the fire caused by agents and not Davidians? Why were the remains bulldozed before independent parties could sift through the evidence? Why did Attorney General Janet Reno repeat the rumors of child abuse when they had already been investigated and shown to be false by Texas authorities?

Why were Koresh's religious views made a reason to attack him? Should Americans now fear associating themselves with an unapproved religious group? Clinton said as much in his post-cremation press conference.

Freedom of religion means we can worship as we please, and even believe ourselves to be prophets, so long as we do not violate the freedoms of others. In America, the Amish can be different and seek to be left alone, as can Carmelite nuns. Just what is a "cult," besides a religion the Clinton administration doesn't approve of?

Did Koresh "stockpile" guns? If so—and there is no proof—what federal statute did he violate? Gun ownership itself is not, at least yet, a crime.

The Waco horror is an example of what happens when government is centralized. It begins to exercise arbitrary power with no accountability, which is why the Constitution's framers feared centralization and tried to guard against it.

Waco is not unlike the attack on Ruby Ridge in Northern Idaho. Did the BATF target Randy Weaver because of his unorthodox political views? The left is always whining about McCarthyism, when a few

Quotes That Need No Comment

Yeltsin moved swiftly Monday to smother the remains of his political opposition. The president signed two decrees Monday that banned several Communist and ultranationalist parties—thus depriving them of the ability to challenge him in elections scheduled for December—and shut down at least eight opposition newspapers.—*Los Angeles Times*

Atty. Gen. Janet Reno said filing of civil rights lawsuits against two dentists sends a message that bias against AIDS patients will not be tolerated.—*Los Angeles Times*

Arafat aide Rassam Abu Sharif, a key architect of the peace process..., dreams of Palestine as the door to Middle Eastern membership in the new world order. "If properly funded, Palestine can generate solutions to Middle Eastern poverty. I envision a Middle Eastern Common Market that will be Israel's bridge to membership in the Middle East," Mr. Abu Sharif says.—James M. Dorsey, *Wall St. Journal*

There was a frightening moment when it appeared that Dan Rostenkowski might spring from his chair and crawl across the hearing room to kiss the hem of Hillary Rodham Clinton's skirt.... I understood the basic [Hillary] pitch: Somehow we are all going to have better health care. Somehow everybody in America will be covered by a medical plan. And somehow it won't cost us more money. And somehow I think that is one of the biggest political con jobs I have ever heard....

Once the government takes over health care, you will go where Big Brother and Big Sister tell you to go. Sneaking off to a private physician—if you can find one—might even be a criminal offense. Big Bro and Big Sis will wind up rationing health care...The government will run health care. For a preview of its track record in that field, visit any VA hospital.—Mike Royko, syndicated columnist

We have the best medical system in the world and are enjoying the best health in our history. Yet it is now proposed to scrap this system and introduce a complex, untried scheme guaranteeing a bureaucratic proliferation at the cost of providing less care for those who need it.... An honest debate on this issue would tell the American people that the ultimate economy in health care is death, since a corpse doesn't need tests, medicines.... The next incentives will be to let people die if they look like they need expensive treatment. We all die eventually, but we have looked to medicine to prolong our lives. Do we really want to turn our doctors into an army of Kevorkians...?—Dr. Harry Schwartz, *USA Today*

Bill Koch...is about to become mired in a court battle with two of his brothers. At stake is 41 billion from Koch Industries, of Wichita, Kan., one of the largest privately held oil companies in the United States.—*New York Times*

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commies suffered some embarrassment. Randy Weaver's 13-year-old son was shot in the back by a federal gunman, and his wife had her head blown off by a federal sniper as she held their baby boy.

Did federal agents entrap him for selling them, at their request, shotguns that were 1/4 inch shorter than regulations allow? If so, why isn't this akin to a traffic offense? After indicting him, and confusing him about his trial date with conflicting letters, why didn't they simply serve an arrest warrant? Why did they surround his tiny cabin with 400 agents, spending nearly $1 million in the process? After killing Mrs. Weaver, why did agents use such sick psywar tactics as shouting over a loudspeaker, "Good morning, Mrs. Weaver. We had pancakes for breakfast. What did you have?"

Weaver was subjected to a long trial, but the jury cleared him of all serious charges, much to the BATF's dismay. Neither the snipers nor their superiors have even had their pay docked, of course.

As part of his reinvention of government, President Clinton says we need to centralize agenies into a national police force. But that means tyranny, as centralization always does. Can anyone imagine the Waco Police or the Sheriff of Ruby Ridge acting as the BATF did?

To cut government, which is the real imperative, and to do justice to the slain, let's wipe out the BATF instead. Beer, cigars, and guns are none of the feds' business from a constitutional standpoint anyway. If we care about our liberties, we must oppose centralized police and support local law enforcement. That's the American tradition, not Uzi-armed, ski-masked, tobacco-brownshirted federal thugs invading our local communities. ■

The Teeth in Nafta's Eco-Accord

by L.H.R., Jr.

A spirited debate has broken out over the meaning of Nafta's environmental side accord. Does it have teeth, or is it just puffery?

The Clinton administration, which negotiated and wrote the accord, has been perfectly clear. Environmental Protection Agency Administrator Carol Browner says that the accord "promotes region-wide environmental planning on an unprecedented scale." U.S. Trade Representative Mickey Kantor claims the accord binds nations not to "lower environmental standards—ever" but "only raise them."

Based on this interpretation, many environmental groups now support Nafta, including the World Wildlife Fund and the Natural Resources Defense Fund (NRDC). But with the greens on board, many conservatives have jumped off. Echoing one of Patrick J. Buchanan's criticisms, William F. Buckley, Jr., argues that this side accord creates "a bloated bureaucratic mess" and cautions that "environmentalist entanglements could have the effect of reducing, rather than increasing, trade."

Understandably, the conservatives who still support Nafta are unhappy with the Clinton administration's statements. They dismiss the administration's claims as "puffery" gleaned from purely "hortatory" language in the accords. The Republican side of the Joint Economic Committee, for example, says the side accord comes into effect "only in the face of grievous provocations." Writing in the *Wall Street Journal*, Paul Gigot says the side accord packs "little punch," and that its "toothlessness" is reason to support Nafta.

The Natural Resources Defense Council asked a Washington D.C., law firm which specializes in international environmental law—Winthrop, Stimson, Putnam & Roberts—to evaluate the legal strength of the side agreement.

The firm's brief, 35 pages and 145 footnotes long, bolsters the Clinton administration's position. In the past, says the brief, trade has been pursued in the interests of efficiency alone, but Nafta introduces important new conditions—the state of the environment and rigorous enforcement of environmental law—to trump the pursuit of profit in trade between the U.S., Canada, and Mexico.

The enforcement arm of the accord is an Environmental Commission with a three-part structure: a Council headed by cabinet ministers from Canada, Mexico, and the U.S.; a central Secretariat, headed by an

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Executive Director chosen by the Council, who will chose the staff; and a 15-person Joint Public Advisor Committee to evaluate complaints about lax enforcement.

The Commission's power to enforce regulations does not, of course, take the place of domestic enforcement; instead, it oversees domestic governments like a stern parent. It has, says the brief, "sweeping responsibilities that provide it with the opportunity to have a major impact on the environment of North America."

The Council "mandates, among other things, that each Party take actions such as appointing and training environmental inspectors, conducting on-site inspections, releasing noncompliance information, promoting environmental audits, requiring mandatory reporting and record keeping, using licenses, permits or authorizations, providing for search, seizure or detention, and issuing administrative orders."

If a "person or a nongovernmental organization" makes a complaint that regulations are not being enforced, the Secretariat can open an investigation with two-thirds of the commissioners voting to give permission (and affirmative votes from the U.S. and Canada are a foregone conclusion, says the brief). In the course of the investigation, the Council or the Secretariat can require whatever information it deems necessary.

Once the arduous process of arbitration is finished, and the government in question is declared in violation of Nafta, the Commission can impose a $20 million fine on the government. The proceeds of fines go into Commission coffers for future enforcement. If the violation continues, the Commission can impose additional monetary sanctions of $20 million each time.

"Because of the threat of penalties, sanctions and a public airing of allegations of non-enforcement," says the brief, "it is likely that governments will respond to complaints about enforcement before it is necessary to play out fully the dispute resolution process. This means that enforcement will occur faster, on a more open, and on a more cooperative basis, than if the Congress rejected the NAFTA."

The accord, in short, is an environmentalist dream come true.

"Moreover," it continues, "if a Party does not enforce its environmental laws, it faces severe penalties, and in the case of the United States and Mexico trade sanctions, if it does not correct a persistent pattern of failing to enforce its environmental laws." The brief concludes that the "agreement obligates the Parties to strive generally to continue to improve their environmental laws."

Some environmentalists feared that Nafta's requirement that domestic regulations have a "scientific basis" would lead to some laws being overturned. It's a legitimate issue, since questionable science undergirds much of our environmental law. The brief quotes a letter from Mickey Kantor to the NRDC making clear that the definition of "scientific" is very broad. It need not be the "best" nor include the "preponderance" of evidence.

As for the free-trade aspects of the treaty—which some environmentalists feared would make it difficult to discourage imports that they believe misuse natural resources—the brief says "the countries may continue to maintain foreign investment restriction on investments in the fish, energy, forestry, and mining industries."

In a recent press conference, Al Gore said he was pleasantly surprised that U.S. Nafta negotiators could institute such a system, which locks in existing restrictions and regulations, establishes structures that oversee their enforcement, creates powerful incentives for countries to impose additional ones, and allows countries to interfere with trade deemed environmentally harmful.

The accord, in short, is an environmentalist dream come true. It secures their political victories of recent years by placing an important legal *imprimatur* on regulations that are still controversial among economists

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and the public. U.S. law is not enforced nearly to the extent it could be, and thank goodness, but the accord will be used as a tool and excuse for a wealth-destroying crackdown.

The hope of the Greens is that if Nafta passes, the same mechanism will be incorporated into the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. If that happens, this powerful lobbying group, with deep hostilities to business, will be given extraordinary influence in the conduct of world trade. Far from free trade, they would have effective veto power over any business decision they deem contrary to the their interests.

While the Winthrop, Stimson, Putnam & Roberts brief answers many questions, it raises a few more. Why should Nafta be considered "free trade" if capitalism's most feared opponents like it so much? Why should any conservatives support an agreement that empowers liberal interest groups they oppose? Why should business offer any support for an accord that hampers its profits? Why should people who favor limiting government want to empower a supranational environmental bureaucracy?

Businesspeople and landowners have been battling environmental regulation for years. The great journalist Warren Brookes devoted the last years of his life to exposing environmentalists and their destructive agenda. Nafta's side accord does a hat dance on his grave. ■

Rating Senate Republicans

Abolishing NED

One of the most reprehensible federal agencies is the little-known National Endowment for Democracy (NED), an independent fiefdom wholly controlled by neocons, providing patronage for neocons and slush funds for official Democrat and Republican party organs, to promote "global" democracy" and Social Democratic trade unions around the world. While the House actually voted to abolish NED, the Senate unfortunately voted to restore $35 million appropriation for NED.

Senator Hank Brown (R.,Col.) moved, on July 28, to table the appropriation. His amendment, to kill NED, lost by 23-74. While the Democrats voted to save NED by 37-17, the Republicans displayed their greater subjection to neocon influence by voing more strongly against the Brown table motion, 6 to 37, with 1 not voting. Pluses for the six heroes who voted against slush funds for global neocons; minuses for the craven who went along with NED. Zero for non-voting.

Alaska		**Maine**		**Pennsylvania**	
Murkowski	—	Cohen	—	Specter	—
Stevens	—				
		Minnesota		**Rhode Island**	
Arizona		Durenberger	—	Chafee	—
McCain	—				
		Mississippi		**South Carolina**	
Colorado		Lott	—	Thurmond	—
Brown	+	Cochran	—		
				South Dakota	
Delaware		**Missouri**		Pressler	—
Roth	—	Bond	—		
		Danforth	—	**Texas**	
Florida				Hutchinson	—
Mack	—	**Montana**		Gramm	—
		Burns	—		
Georgia				**Utah**	
Coverdell	—	**New Hampshire**		Bennett	—
		Gregg	+	Hatch	—
Idaho		Smith	—		
Kempthorne	—			**Vermont**	
Craig	—	**New Mexico**		Jeffords	—
		Domenici	—		
Indiana				**Virginia**	
Coats	—	**New York**		Warner	+
Lugar	—	D'Amato	—		
				Washington	
Iowa		**North Carolina**		Gorton	—
Grassley	+	Faircloth	+		
		Helms	+	**Wyoming**	
Kansas				Wallop	—
Dole	—	**Oklahoma**		Simpson	—
Kassebaum	—	Nickles	+		
Kentucky		**Oregon**			
McConnell	—	Packwood	—		
		Hatfield	—		

Nafta vs. States' Rights

by L.H.R., Jr.

The sovereignty issue, more than any other, has mobilized public opposition to Nafta. That's understandable, since most Americans are suspicious of distant government agencies, especially international ones not responsible to the voting public.

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Supporters of state "right-to-work" laws have worried, for example, that Nafta would be used to abolish them, since the agreement promotes pro-union legislation. When asked about this in Congressional hearings, U.S. Trade Representative Mickey Kantor sharply denied it. Other Nafta supporters say we have nothing to worry about: the agreement does not undermine state and national independence.

But Kantor's own Nafta implementing legislation, which Congress will be asked to vote on, tells a different story. Now that it is in print, no one should have any doubts.

In a section listing the changes that Nafta will bring about in the U.S., the legislation plainly states that "the United States may bring an action challenging any provision or application of State law on ground that it is inconsistent with" Nafta. It also says that Nafta provisions "shall prevail over any conflicting State law (or application of such law)."

What could be clearer? The states are required to bring their environmental and labor laws into conformity with Nafta's side accords, or face lawsuits from the federal government. The Supreme Court has long held that executive agreements trump state law, but Nafta puts it in writing just to be sure.

Right-to-work states, especially those on the border like Texas, can expect lawsuits from Robert Reich's Department of Labor. The suits will allege that such laws constitute unfair competition, and conflict with Nafta's goal of upward harmonization. The legislature might be pressured to change the law long before a court order forces change.

And what about states that want to liberalize environmental laws or try a free-market approach to pollution control? They could expect Carol Browner's Environmental Protection Agency to have something to say about it, and Nafta will provide the excuse.

The Nafta commissions will already have "sweeping responsibilities" plus the power to investigate and levy $20 million fines, as the law firm of Winthrop, Stimson, Putnam & Robert has pointed out. But if state law contradicts the ambitions of the Clinton administration, Nafta will provide both an excuse and a means for further centralization of power.

The central government has tried to control the sovereign states since the founding, even waging a war to subdue them. Yet the Constitution protects states rights with the 10th amendment. For the Founders, states could join in a republic without sacrificing their essential cultural and political autonomy.

For free traders, a side benefit of such autonomy is that it establishes political competition among the states. Such competition creates incentives, on the margin, for all states to curtail their regulations and taxes to avoid losing people and capital. They effectively competed for business by shrinking or at least not expanding their governments.

The New Deal sought to change all that, by "upwardly harmonizing" state regulations and taxes to eliminate competition. In that spirit, bad governors today agree not to compete with each other. By eliminating competition between the states, Nafta will be the culmination of this damaging process.

Among nations too, free trade increases competition for capital, and pressures national governments to maintain relatively freer markets. Nafta will also kill this healthy process with region-wide "upward harmonization" (Kantor's term, borrowed from the megastate European Community).

To do this, Nafta creates an astounding 49 new bureaucracies. The organization chart of this octopus, prepared by Matthew Hoffman of the Competitive Enterprise Institute, alone refutes the assertion that Nafta is about freedom.

U.S. trade with Mexico is growing without Nafta. Both countries are reducing barriers, which is all to the good. If we let well enough alone, we will have largely free trade long before the 2008 target that Nafta sets. We don't need a treaty that makes trade conditional on environmental and labor laws, and kills off what's left of states' rights.

True free traders advocate decentralization, not more government intervention by the feds or the Environmental and Labour Secretariats of Nafta. If we want more trade, we should seek a lower cost of labor by repealing mandates and affirmative action, which would also address the complaints of Ross Perot that jobs are leaving the U.S. Likewise, we should seek fewer environmental controls,

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which would make us a wealthier country, and lower the incentives for capital to leave. But none of this will be possible if Nafta passes, which is why real free traders oppose it. ■

Behind Waco

by M.N.R.

These days, when the Respectable Media form a virtual monolith, rehashing government press releases and confining the Respectable Spectrum of opinion to the tiny distance from left-center to right-center, truth can often be found only at the "extremes" whether left or right, where anti-Establishment people dare to stray beyond these prescribed limits. So we have to thank leftist Alexander Cockburn, in his column in *The Nation* (Oct. 18), for straying into Forbidden Ground in reporting on the story behind the terrible Waco massacre.

Cockburn cites the report of Nancy Ammerman, of the Candler School of Theology at Emory University, who was recruited by the Justice and Treasury Departments to review internal documents on the Waco case, in preparation for their own whitewash report on Waco. Professor Ammerman found that the BATF and FBI ignored sound cautionary advice from religion experts and from the FBI's own Behavioral Science Services Unit. Instead, the BATF and FBI relied heavily on the sinister Cult Awareness Network [CAN], which kept goading the federal authorities to use maximal force against the Branch Davidians. Thus, in April, before the Waco holocaust, CAN president Patricia Ryan was quoted in the *Houston Chronicle* as calling for the arrest of David Koresh, using lethal force if necessary.

Particularly ominous is the crucial role played at Waco by a leading "deprogrammer"; "deprogrammers" are professional brainwashers who kidnap "cult" adherents, and then use brainwashing techniques to "deprogram" them, thereby allegedly setting them mentally free. Since deprogrammers are felons who are often convicted and sent to jail, CAN has to have an arms'-length relationship with them, but even so their joint connections to Waco are disturbingly intertwined. Thus, the man whom the BATF and FBI relied on most heavily for advice on the Branch Davidians was Rick Ross, whom Professor Ammerman says "clearly had the most extensive access to both agencies of any person on the 'cult expert' list and he was apparently listened to more attentively." Ross, who boasts of performing many "deprogrammings," was frequently quoted by the media during the Waco siege, and he was featured in the *Waco Tribune-Herald* series on the Branch Davidians that began at the end of February. Ross, a convicted jewel thief known as such to the federal authorities, is now facing charges of unlawful imprisonment arising from one of his deprogrammings in Washington State.

Information from the brainwashed Block was featured heavily in the initial BATF search warrant.

Rick Ross, who admits to hatred of all religious cults and whose aim is to destroy cults, was hailed by Cynthia Kisser, executive director of CAN's national office, as "among the half dozen best deprogrammers in the country." Ross got much of his information on the Branch Davidians from a deprogramming session held at the Los Angeles home of Priscilla Coates, head of the Southern California CAN. Someone, either Ross or a colleague, "deprogrammed" a former Branch Davidian member, David Block, at these sessions, and information from the brainwashed Block was featured heavily in the initial BATF search warrant presented to a Waco judge.

Professor Ammerman concludes that major sponsors of the first bloody and unjustified assault on the Branch Davidians included people such as Rick Ross and CAN, who "have a direct ideological (and financial) interest in arousing suspicion and antagonism against what they call 'cults.'"

It is horrifying that the acolytes

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of the "therapeutic state" are increasingly turning to coercive brainwashing techniques, ranging from "sensitivity training sessions" to kidnapping and "deprogramming" for stamping out the Politically Incorrect. Our "soft" totalitarian liberals are increasingly taking on "harder" and rougher trappings. This trend must be combatted and uprooted, and one important step would be a deep investigation of the Cult Awareness Network. Who are these people? And how did they acquire their power? ■

P.C. Watch

by L.H.R., Jr.

Work, Obey, and Eat

During the 1930s, New Deal historians compiled a 19-volume oral history of slavery. It consisted entirely of interviews with former slaves, and given the interest in the subject, one would think the collection, still in print (Greenwood Press), would be much in use today. But an extract, *Before Freedom*, edited by Belinda Hermence (Mentor [Penguin], 1990), shows why the oral history is so seldom used. Fewer than 4% of the ex-slaves expressed even the slightest hostility to slavery, former masters, or whites in general.

From Patsy Michner, age 84: "Before two years had passed after the surrender, there was two out of every three slaves who wished they was back with their masters.... There was a lot of love between master and slave, and there is few of us that don't love the white folks today.... Slavery was better for us then things is now in some cases. Niggers then didn't have no responsibility; just work, obey, and eat."

Adeline Johnson, age 93: "That was a happy time, with happy days.... I'll be satisfied to see my Savior that my old master worshipped and my husband preach about. I wants to be in Heaven with all my white folks, just to wait on them and love them, and serve them, sorta like I did in slavery times. That will be enough Heaven for Adeline."

Mary Anderson, age 86: "I think slavery was a mighty good thing for Mother, Father, me, and the other members of my family, and I cannot say anything but good for my old master and missus, but I can only speak for those whose conditions I have known during slavery and since. For myself and for them, I will say again, slavery was a mighty good thing."

Sylvia Cannon, age 85: "Things sure better long time ago then they be now. I know it. Colored people never had no debt to pay in slavery time. Never hear tell about no colored people been put in jail before freedom. Had more to eat and more to wear then, and had good clothes all the time 'cause white folks furnish everything, everything. Had plenty peas, rice, hog meat, rabbit, fish, and such as that." (*American Renaissance*, 9-10/93)

No Al Jolson

When black playright Leroi Jones puts black actors in whiteface, it's legitimate social commentary. But blackface is out of bounds for whites, even leftists, as Ted Danson recently discovered. At a New York Friars Club roast for his girlfriend, Whoopi Goldberg, Danson came out looking like a minstrel complete with top hat. He made jokes about his and Goldberg's sex life and used the word "nigger." Friars' roasts are renowned for being no-holds-barred, but even though Goldberg responded in kind, black Mayor David Dinkins walked out in protest and so did black talk-show host Montel Williams. Jokes "about racially mixed kids," when "everyone knows my wife is white and just gave birth to our child," are "not funny," he said (*Montgomery Advertiser*, 10/9/93).

Hep

Black novelist Toni Morrison—famous for her anti-white and anti-male books—has won the $825,000 Nobel Prize in literature. To show why, the *Wall Street Journal* (10/8/93) quoted from *Jazz*, her latest book: "Daylight slants like a razor cutting the buildings in half. In the top half I see looking faces and it's not easy to tell which are people, which the work of stonemasons. Below is shadow where any blase thing may take place: clarinets and lovemaking, fists and the voices of sorrowful women. A city like this makes me dream tall and feel in on things. Hep."

Moving to the Back of the Restaurant

It was Rosa Parks all over again, said columnist William

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Raspberry (*MA*, 9/9/93). The packed Bethesda Crab House in Bethesda, Maryland, asked three black women sitting at a table for six and who had not yet been served to move to a table for four so the restaurant "could accommodate a party of six whites." When the women refused, at the top of their voices for an extended time, the manager asked them to leave.

Racism! But let's turn that around. Suppose three whites are sitting at a table for six, and are asked to move so that six blacks can be seated. They vociferously refuse, and are asked to leave.

Whom would Mr. Raspberry condemn in that situation? Why the whites, of course, just as he did in the first example. The women are, of course, bringing a civil rights suit.

"I'm Not Going To Take It Anymore"

I reported last month on the controversy about a mime troupe performing the Stations of the Cross at the Pope's visit to Denver, and how an actress was used to portray Jesus Christ. Mother Angelica of cable's Eternal Word Television Network denounced the performance, which she correctly said was designed to advance feminism and the idea of female priests. She was in turn denounced by Archbishop Rembert Weakland of Milwaukee and other infidels.

Now, thanks to *Catholic World Report* (10/93), we have Mother Angelica's actual words to Church liberals, and can see why Weakland and company were so bothered.

"Our Church has literally been taken away from us.... I'm tired of your enneagrams. I'm tired of your witchcraft. I'm tired of your inclusive language that refuses to admit that the Son of God is a man.... I'm tired of your deceit.... You have, really, no God.... You don't believe in the Eucharist.... You don't believe in the Virgin Birth.... You're sick.... You spread your errors to children.... You've helped make this nation pagan.... You're destroyers. I'm not going to take it anymore. Live your life. Live your falsehood. Live your lies. Leave us alone."

Mother Angelica, a Birmingham, Ala., abbess, founded the orthodox EWTN against the wishes of the U.S. church bureaucracy, and then beat its well-funded attempt to put her out of business. If you're Catholic and your local cable company

More Quotes That Need No Comment

The separate but parallel debates on NAFTA and the Uruguay Round are about political attitudes as much as they are about economic benefits. Success in both would hold the line against a psychological turning inward that mixes protectionism, nativism, and other political forces. That is one reason President Clinton decided to go to the stump to argue for NAFTA and to shape a new internationalism.—Jim Hoagland, *The Washington Post*, 9-22-93

It doesn't have to be a totally clear situation for U.S. forces to get involved. There will be murkiness, and we are in a little bit of murky area right now. I think it will sort itself out. We have to stay the course. ...I am inclined next Thursday afternoon to retire and quietly go into private life and see what the future holds.—General Colin Powell on Somalia, *Washington Times*, 9-24-93

The Black Sea coast city of Sukhumi fell to Abkhazian rebels Monday...and Georgian leader Eduard A. Shevardnadze, who had vowed to defend the city "with my bare hands," was said by aides to be hiding in a safe place.... But the Abkhazians offered Shevardnadze safe passage out. "We don't want his life," Abkhazian spokeswoman Aida Ladariya said.... "He [Shevardnadze] succeeded in deceiving the entire world that he is a kind democrat," Ladariya said. "But now everyone can plainly see that he is a butcher of his own people." ...Shevardnadze released a poignant statement blaming both Russia and treason within Georgia for the dreadful defeat.—*Los Angeles Times*

LACK OF "HEALTH PLAN POLICE" MAY LEAD TO COSTLY CHEATING. —*Los Angeles Times*

The [Israel-PLO] agreement means that Arafat is now annexed by the American-Israeli security system. In return he will get nothing except permission to be a local dictator. The human rights situation may even qualitatively deteriorate.—Dr. Israel Shahak, chairman of the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights

At the South Lawn ceremony, Henry Kissinger waddled up to Yossi Beilin, Labor's architect of the agreement who was also denounced as a traitor by an AIPAC hand, and said, "I have always opposed statehood for the Palestinians. Golda [Meir] would have had you hanged."—Christopher Hitchens, *The Nation*

Why would President Clinton support Mr. Yeltsin's disbanding of the Russian legislature and suspension of the old Constitution? Looking pale and tired, Mr. [Alexander] Rutzkoi paused, then spat out: "I don't know. He must be as much of a democrat as Yeltsin."—*New York Times*

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doesn't carry EWTN, ask it to.

Moron Priests

Once upon a time, Catholic priests had to be men of faith, with the stress on "men" as well as "faith." They also had to survive a long and rigorous course of study in theology, philosophy, history, etc. And they were politically sound. Most priests opposed the New Deal. A lot voted for Barry Goldwater. But today, many are ill-educated, effeminate, unorthodox, and left-wing.

Like all left-libertarians, Mass. governor William Weld is becoming increasingly statist.

The consequences are devastating. Recently, a Paulist priest in Boston was discovered administering invalid baptisms. In the ceremony, instead of saying that he baptized the babies "in the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit," he said "God our Creator, through Jesus the Christ in the power of the Holy Spirit."

Sacraments, to be effective, must have the proper matter, form, and intention, as all Catholic children—let alone priests—used to be taught. In the case of baptism, the priest must say the words Our Lord taught us, he must use water, and he must intend to do what the Church intends. He cannot substitute p.c. language for God's.

The priest said he meant no harm, but merely "sought to use a vocabulary that was more sensitive to women," who "feel" "excluded" from "church life." In fact, the liberalization of the Church has meant a takeover by feminists, who dominate parish life and the bureaucracy, assisted by languid priests who apparently don't know a sacrament from a softball. They wouldn't touch a hardball, of course (*Washington Times*, 10/9/93).

It's Murder on Sales

The first solo album of rap star Snoop Doggy Dogg has gotten a big boost in sales. He first became famous because of his guest appearance on an album of "controversial rapper Dr. Dre," said the *Los Angeles Times* (9/9/93). His "slow, funky, and laidback delivery distinguishes him from the volatile aggressive style of other vocalists in the gangsta rap genre."

The reason for the sales boost? Dogg, whose definitely gangsta looks were displayed on the cover of a recent *Rolling Stone*, was arrested for murder. While he drove the car, police allege, his bodyguard killed a man standing on the street in West Los Angeles who had dissed Dogg. (Thanks to Dr. Wayne Lutton for the clipping.)

Neocon Logrolling

When George Will devoted a recent column to plugging John Podhoretz's new book, he may not have been entirely familiar with it. "I was not a speechwriter for George Bush" and *Hell of a Ride* is not "an autobiography" but rather "a work of journalism," complains the author (*Washington Post*, 10/9/93).

Wrong Number

AT&T has abolished *Focus*, an 300,000-circulation employee magazine, for running a "racist illustration" from a free-lance artist. The drawing featured telephone poles running from continent to continent, and various cartoon figures speaking on the phone. In Africa, it was a gorilla. The company "apologized to our employees, and especially to people of color, for an illustration that perpetuates racial stereotypes" (*WP*, 9/17/93).

Lost Souls Report

Southern Baptists got into trouble recently in Alabama for taking their religion seriously. They published an Evangelistic Index Study showing county by county, who needed to be saved according to Baptist criteria. "Bigotry!" shouted every liberal in the state. For among the non-saved were "Catholics, Jews, non-born again mainline Protestants, sect members, and the religiously unaffiliated," said the *Birmingham News* (*WT*, 9/19/93).

Welding

Like all left-libertarians, Massachusetts governor William Weld is becoming increasingly statist. His latest deviation: support for gun control. Weld

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wants to outlaw "assault" rifles, to enact a Brady like-bill waiting period for gun purchases, to ban gun ownership for law-abiding young people, to limit the number of handguns a person can own, and to jail for long terms anyone violating gun control regulations. Actual criminals, armed to the teeth, continue to run rampant, of course. But like all commies, Weld is worried by the armed citizen (*NYT*, 10/1/93).

Hillary Kevorkian

The article I've gotten the most hate-mail over, aside from my anti-Rodney King pieces, was a *Los Angeles Times* op-ed last fall predicting the various atrocities of the Age of Clinton. One was that Clinton's socialized medicine would promote euthanasia. May I be the first victim, was the usual and somewhat inconsistent wish, because of my dastardly libel.

Now President Rodham has raised the subject in Congressional testimony, while assuring the assembled boobs that patients will not be killed if treatment—in the government's judgment—can "enhance or save the quality of life." And if the treatment doesn't cost too much, of course (*NYT*, 10/1/93).

Antiochian Manners

Leftist Antioch College has issued one of the most detailed campus sex codes. There must be, says administrator Karen Hall, "willing and verbal consent" for each individual sexual act. Asking "do you want to have sex" is not enough, because "sex means different things to different people." Punishment for violating the code can be as little as a reprimand from the dean, but expulsions will be frequent.

"If you want her to take her blouse off, you have to ask," says Hall. "If you want to touch her breast, you have to ask. If you want to move your hand down to her genitals, you have to ask. If you want to put your finger inside her, you have to ask."

Issued at the demand of the "Womyn of Antioch," the code applies only to heterosexual boys, and not to lesbians or gays (*NYT*, 9/25/93).

Of course, there is a code that used to handle these problems. It's called chastity.

P.C. at the P.O.

The Post Office is issuing an "AIDS Awareness" stamp. Critics think the design, which will have double the normal run of commemoratives, will be a disaster akin to the 1981 "Alcoholism: You Can Beat It!" issue, which no one wanted to use. But it's "time to fight denial," says Clinton AIDS czarina Kristine Gebbie. One observer noted that at least she didn't mention licking AIDS.

Postmaster General Marvin Runyon, father of the Elvis stamp, wanted to add a 20c surcharge to books of the AIDS stamp and donate the money to AIDS groups, but wasn't allowed to do so. He did waive, for the first time, licensing fees so AIDS groups wouldn't have to pay to put the stamp on coffee mugs and sweatshirts (*WP*, 9/2/93). ■

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